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AFRICAN ADVANCEMENT UNDER APARTHEID

Owen Crankshaw

At the end of the 1960s, after South African capitalism had experienced a decade of unprecedented economic growth, scholars were deeply divided over the impact of this economic growth on racial inequality. Although the deepest differences were between liberal scholars who argued that economic growth would erode racial inequality and revisionists who argued the converse, there was little agreement even among revisionists on the extent and pattern of changes to the racial division of labour in South Africa. I shall argue that the reasons for the different estimates of the extent and pattern of African advancement are due to the limitations inherent in neo-Marxist theories of class and of the sources of data used by revisionists. To provide a reliable estimate of the extent and pattern of African advancement that overcomes some of these limitations, I have relied on a somewhat eclectic classification scheme that incorporates insights from labour process theory and Weberian class theory. Following the example of Simkins and Hindson, I turned to the Manpower Survey data instead of the Population Census because it provides a more detailed occupational classification and time series.

The results of my analysis are restricted to the formal urban workforce. Following earlier analyses of African advancement, this study does not deal with the question of African unemployment. Although an analysis of unemployment would greatly enrich this study, there are no data which provide an occupational breakdown of the unemployed population. A study of the inequalities caused by unemployment therefore has to be conducted through an analysis of trends in wages and income which I have dealt with elsewhere.

1. INTRODUCTION

During the late 1960s, the shortage of white artisans led to a concerted campaign by employers to fragment the skilled trades and to promote African workers into these newly created operative jobs. Liberal scholars interpreted these changes in the racial division of labour as an important advance for African workers and a sign that the colour bar was beginning to erode. Revisionists, however, argued that these developments meant that Africans were effectively performing the work of white

artisans, but at cheap wages.[1] Trapido went so far as to say that 'as unorganised African workers came to do work previously undertaken by Whites, job fragmentation takes place and African wages remain unchanged'.[2] Furthermore, they argued that this form of African advancement was not eroding the colour bar because, as Africans were promoted into semi-skilled positions, so whites were promoted ahead of them. Legassick argued that the upward mobility of Africans into semi-skilled jobs was 'simply a means of dynamically modifying the system of racial differentiation in changing economic conditions. Non-whites may indeed move into more jobs, more skilled jobs in manufacturing industry, and may receive marginally increased wages. But the whites move upwards even further'.[3] In fact, revisionists predicted that this 'floating' of the colour bar would lead to even greater racial inequality.[4] In the early 1970s the evidence supported the revisionist argument: the wage gap between white and African workers widened during the preceding decade of the 1960s.[5]

In the mid-1970s, however, Lipton and Nattrass countered this revisionist argument with new evidence that the wage gap between white and African workers had narrowed across all sectors between mid-1964 and mid-1974.[6] They attributed this emerging trend of declining racial inequality to economic growth which raised the overall skills of the workforce through mechanisation. Conversely, they argued that economic recession would have the effect of slowing down, and even reversing, racial inequality.[7]

The revisionist response to the initial findings by liberal scholars on the narrowing of the racial wage gap was one of scepticism. Legassick and Innes considered that the wage data from which Lipton drew her conclusions were unreliable. They also argued,

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1 Legassick, M. and Innes, D., 'Capital Restructuring and Apartheid: A critique of constructive engagement', *African Affairs* 76(305), 1977, pp.448-449; Wolpe, 'South Africa: Class, race and occupational structure', Collected Seminar Paper No.12, *The Societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th Centuries, Volume 2* (Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, 1971), p.103.

2 Trapido, S., 'South Africa in a Comparative Study of Industrialization', *Journal of Development Studies* 7(3), 1971, pp.316-317.

3 Legassick, M., 'South Africa: Forced labour, industrialization, and racial differentiation', R. Harris (ed.), *The Political Economy of Africa* (John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1975), pp.262-263.

4 First, R., Steele, J. and Gurney, C., *The South African Connection: Western investment in Apartheid* (Temple Smith, London, 1973), p.62.

5 Johnstone, F., 'White Prosperity and White Supremacy in South Africa Today', *African Affairs* 69(274), 1970, p.135.

6 Lipton, M., 'British Investment in South Africa: Is constructive engagement possible?', *South African Labour Bulletin* 3(3), 1976, p.18; Nattrass, J., 'The Narrowing of Wage Differentials in South Africa', *South African Journal of Economics* 45(4), 1977, p.418.

7 Lipton, M., 'The Debate About South Africa: Neo-Marxists and neo-Liberals', *African Affairs* 78(310), 1979, p.69; Nattrass, 'The Narrowing of Wage Differentials', p.415.

quite correctly, that Lipton produced no evidence of upward African mobility which was leading to an erosion of the colour bar.[8] A similar position was advanced by Davies at a time when it was evident that both employers and the state were keen on reforming the racial division of labour in South Africa. Davies argued that the scope for deracialisation was limited and that all that could be expected was 'some blurring of the racist hierarchy at the skilled manual working class and lower mental/supervisory levels'.[9] Similarly, in support of his argument that the Apartheid state would not be able to expand its support base by creating an African middle class, Nolutshungu presented evidence that just less than one per cent of all Africans were middle class in 1970.[10]

At the end of the 1970s, however, two dissenting contributions argued that the racial division of labour had undergone unexpectedly dramatic changes. In a study directed at the question of the political significance of the African middle class, Wolpe argued that there had been an 'enormous increase in the African middle class between 1960 and 1970'.[11] Similarly, Simkins and Hindson presented evidence of 'substantial and increasing penetration by "Coloureds", Asians and Africans' into 'clerical, white-collar technical and non-manual' jobs and also noted an increase in the African share of 'skilled' employment during the 1970s.[12] More recently, Charney has argued that, 'contrary to widespread belief', 'the African petite bourgeoisie has in the past few decades been sizeable and rapidly growing'.[13]

To what extent were these differences of opinion on the changing racial division of labour a result of interpretation and to what extent were they due to different empirical findings? Clearly, there is always room for interpretation on the significance of the extent of African advancement. This is clear from the contrasting positions of Davies, on the one hand, and Charney, Simkins and Hindson, on the other. Although these authors based their interpretations on basically similar findings, they disagreed sharply

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8 Legassick and Innes, 'Capital Restructuring and Apartheid', pp.443-447.

9 Davies, R., 'Capital Restructuring and the Modification of the Racial Division of Labour in South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies* 5(2), 1979, p.194.

10 Nolutshungu, S., *Changing South Africa: Political considerations* (David Philip, Cape Town, 1983), p.116.

11 Wolpe, H., 'The Changing Class Structure of South Africa: The African petit-bourgeoisie', P. Zarembka (ed.), *Research in Political Economy, Volume 1: An annual compilation of research* (JAI Press, Greenwich Connecticut, 1977), p.153.

12 Simkins, C. and Hindson, D., 'The Division of Labour in South Africa, 1969-1977', *Social Dynamics* 5(2), 1979, p.9. The occupational categories do not comprise the same occupations as my categories of the same names.

13 Charney, C., 'Janus in Blackface? The African petite bourgeoisie in South Africa', *Con-Text* 1, 1988, p.7.

on whether or not significant African advancement had taken place or, indeed, would take place in the future (Table 1).

Notwithstanding these differences of interpretation, there were also substantial differences in the empirical measurement of the size of the African middle class. Whereas Nolutshungu's estimate of the size of the African middle class in 1970 was as low as 121,948, Wolpe's estimate was over ten times as much at 1,315,800 (Table 1). Charney, Davies, Simkins and Hindson placed the size of the African middle class at about twice the size estimated by Nolutshungu (Table 1). Clearly, these widely divergent estimates of the size of the African middle class indicate that there was little agreement on the way that African advancement should be conceptualised and measured.

Table 1. Estimates of the Size of the African Middle Class

	1951	1960	1970	1974	1977	1980	1990
Charney	53,862	90,580	215,574			549,840	
Davies				195,366			396,774[a]
							896,027[b]
Nolutshungu			121,948				
Simkins and Hindson			225,851		391,661		
Wolpe	698,945	813,520		1,315,800			

a lower estimate
b higher estimate

There are two related reasons why these estimates of the size of the African middle class vary so widely. The first is that the conceptual definitions of the middle class are not uniform and nor are they uniformly applied. The second is that certain official employment statistics are not readily translated into the categories demanded by class theories. As far as the conceptual definitions of the middle class are concerned most of these authors have relied, to a greater or lesser extent, on the class theories proposed by Carchedi, Poulantzas and Wright. These class theories were developed to explain why large sections of the populations of advanced capitalist countries did not support working class political parties. As such, they placed particular emphasis on the boundary between the working class and what they variously termed the 'new middle

class', the 'petty bourgeoisie' and 'semi-autonomous employees'. Specifically, these models of class determination proposed a tighter definition of the working class which excluded, variously, managerial, non-manual, non-productive (tertiary sector) and semi-autonomous occupations from the working class.[14] Depending upon which occupational classes they included or excluded from the working class, so these theories produced different estimates of the size of the middle class. The most striking example of this is provided by a comparison of Poulantzas' model, which includes all non-productive manual service workers in the middle class, and Wright's model which includes them in the working class. As applied to South African employment statistics, Poulantzas' middle class is twice the size of Wright's middle class.[15]

Although these theories of class determination clearly influenced debates on the size of the African middle class in South African, they were not always faithfully applied by scholars. Wolpe, for example, relied on Carchedi's definition of the 'new middle class' which includes all those wage earners who perform the 'global function of capital'. Such 'new middle class' wage earners perform the tasks of surveillance and control, as well as the otherwise proletarian 'function' of non-supervisory labour (be it in the state or service sectors). It is odd, therefore, that on the basis of this definition, Wolpe chose to include clerks, sales workers and service sector workers in the middle class, since these occupations have no 'managerial/administrative functions of a supervisory or coercive character.' Wolpe's middle class is in fact much closer to Poulantzas' classification which includes all service sector and state employees in the middle class. Conversely, although Charney explicitly adopts Poulantzas' classification, he incorrectly excludes manual wage earners in the service sector from the middle class.[16] Davies and Nolutshungu do not explicitly use theories of class to draw the boundary between the working and middle classes. Nonetheless, their criterion are closer to the models of Carchedi and Wright. Davies excluded non-productive service sector wage earners from the middle class, yet included clerical and sales workers. Nolutshungu's middle class is restricted to the Population Census definition of 'Professional, Technical and Related Workers'. Since this definition excludes all clerical and sales workers as well as manual service sector occupations, his estimate of the African middle class is the lowest of all.

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14 Carchedi, G., 'On the Economic Identification of the New Middle Class', *Economy and Society* 4(1), 1975, pp.1-86; Poulantzas, N., *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism* (Verso, London, 1975); Wright, E., 'Class Boundaries in Advanced Capitalist Societies', *New Left Review* 98, 1976, pp.3-42.

15 Crankshaw, O., 'Theories of Class and the African "Middle Class" in South Africa, 1969-1983', *Africa Perspective* 1(1&2), 1986, pp.3-33; Davies, 'Capital Restructuring'; Wolpe, 'The Changing Class Structure of South Africa'.

16 Charney, C., 'Janus in Blackface?', p.7 footnote 1 and p.8.

Wolpe's and Charney's inconsistent classification of service sector wage earners as middle class is partly explained by their reliance on the broad occupational categories published in certain Population Census reports. There are two problems with these occupational categories that render these data most unsuitable for an analysis of African advancement. First, some of the occupational groups are not only based on sectoral rather than occupational criterion, but they are also too broad for the application of neo-Marxist class theories. Although the occupational categories of 'Managerial, Executive & Administrative', 'Professional, Semi-Professional & Technical', as reported in the Population Census, are unambiguously middle class according to these class theories, the categories of 'Clerical & Sales', 'Transport, Delivery & Communication' and 'Service, Sport & Recreation' comprise both middle class and working class occupations (as classified by Poulantzas' and Carchedi's models). The absolute employment figures provided by Wolpe and Davies differ because of the way that they resolved this problem. Whereas Davies chose to include only three employment categories in his estimate of the size of the African middle class, namely 'Managerial, Executive & Administrative', 'Professional, Semi-Professional & Technical' and 'Clerical & Sales', Wolpe chose to include these three categories as well as the category of 'Service, Sport & Recreation'. As Wolpe noted, the occupational category of 'Service, Sport & Recreation' comprises a wide range of occupations ranging from relatively skilled and well-paid occupations such as 'barber', 'undertaker' and 'photographer' to the least skilled and worst-paid service sector jobs such as 'cleaner' and 'waiter'.[17] This is also true, however, for the occupational category of 'Clerical & Sales' which includes occupations as different as 'stockbroker' and 'petrol filling station attendant'. Wolpe chose to include the 'Service, Sport & Recreation' category on the basis that a significant proportion of these occupations are middle class in character. Equally, however, a great many of them are clearly working class jobs and it is therefore quite reasonable to exclude this occupational category in order to avoid overestimating the size of the African middle class. However, by doing so, one is still left with the problem of a large number of unskilled menial workers, such as 'petrol pump attendants' who are included in the middle class. A further problem with the category of 'Service, Sport & Recreation' is that it is a very large occupational category: according to Wolpe's estimate, this group alone makes up almost half of all 'new middle class' employment.

So, this review of existing estimates of the size of the African middle class suggests that there are two problems which have vitiated the study of African occupational

17 Wolpe, 'The Changing Class Structure', p.153.

advancement in South Africa. The first is that the use of neo-Marxist class theories to classify occupations is quite inappropriate. This is because they generate broadly-defined classes that simply do not provide the detail that is required for an understanding of the precise ways in which the racial division of labour may be eroding in South Africa. Clearly, in a study of racial inequality it would be crucial to know whether or not the increase of the African middle class was due, for example, to the expansion of African employment in teaching and nursing jobs or in middle management jobs. Without such information one could not draw reliable comparisons of the African middle class with its white counterpart, since their occupational composition could differ substantially. Another problem with using these broadly-defined occupational classes is that they comprise occupations which are often reproduced by entirely different, and even contradictory, processes. For example, the working class comprises unskilled manual labourers, semi-skilled machine operatives and skilled artisans. The fortunes of these different occupational groups within the working class have undergone important shifts with the development of capitalist production from simple manufacture to machinofacture, yet class theories take no account of these changes.

The second problem which has limited the study of African advancement is the system of occupational classification which has been followed in official publications. Although quite different to the occupational categories generated by neo-Marxist class theory, the official classification scheme suffers from the same limitations. Both these problems will be discussed in turn below.

2. Class Theory and Occupational Structure

At face value, neo-Weberian class schemes such as that proposed by Goldthorpe would appear to be more suitable for the study of African advancement because they use a more detailed occupational breakdown than most neo-Marxist models.[18] A further advantage of Goldthorpe's scheme is that, unlike those of Marxist scholars, it retains occupational descriptions as the basis for allocating individuals to different classes. Since the Manpower Surveys are based on occupational descriptions, this method suits the constraints of my study. However, the disadvantage of Goldthorpe's scheme is that occupations are grouped together solely on the basis of the similarity or

18 Goldthorpe, J., *Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain* (2nd ed.) (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1987), pp.40-43.

dissimilarity of the market and work situations of their encumbents.[19] Although this method is quite acceptable for classifying occupations within an occupational structure, it does not provide any basis for understanding how the occupational structure is itself reproduced and changed. Since the study of African advancement should be able to offer an explanation of trends in the racial division of labour, I have turned to labour process theory and research for insights into how the dynamics of capitalist production have shaped the division of labour.

Unlike neo-Marxist and neo-Weberian models of class structure, labour process theory approaches the problem of class boundaries from the point of view of the labour process and how its dynamics develop and change the division of labour.[20] For example, although Braverman's seminal study of the labour process was concerned with understanding the structure of the working class, his approach was to investigate how the class boundary of the proletariat has been shaped historically by changes in the organisation of work.[21] In summary, Braverman argues that, in pursuit of higher productivity, the organisation of production has been transformed by the ever-increasing division of labour whereby tasks are sub-divided into increasingly simpler and more routine tasks. The de-skilling of work by this process of fragmentation has been accompanied by both mechanisation and a growing division of labour between the conception, management and execution of work. As such, Braverman's formulation provides a rationale for identifying divisions between artisans, semi-skilled machine operators and unskilled manual labourers employed in the primary and secondary sectors. Similarly, his scheme also identifies the emergence in the twentieth century of routine white-collar workers as a class distinct from managers and commercial professionals such as accountants.[22]

Mackenzie argued that these insights into the way that labour process dynamics shape the division of labour can be enriched by an understanding of how segmented labour processes give rise to segmented labour markets.[23] Such an approach to understanding how the division of labour in production gives rise to distinct labour markets is found in the work of Edwards who argues that the labour process creates the demand for workers with different levels of education and skill. So, although these

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19 Goldthorpe, *Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain*, p.40.

20 Mackenzie, G., 'Class Boundaries and the Labour Process', A. Giddens and G. Mackenzie (eds.), *Social Class and the Division of Labour* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1982), pp.76-77.

21 Braverman, H., *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The degradation of work in the twentieth century* (Monthly Review Press, New York, 1974), p.25.

22 Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital*, Chapters 8-10 and 15.

23 Mackenzie, 'Class Boundaries and the Labour Process', p.85.

different levels of education and skill determine the individual's position in the labour market, they are nonetheless rooted in workplace dynamics.[24] Edwards' theory of labour market segmentation has been used by Webster to understand the labour market in South African foundries. On the basis of his research into the organisation of work in the foundries, Webster identified important labour market divisions between (i) unskilled and lower semi-skilled African manual labourers, (ii) higher semi-skilled coloured machine operatives and (iii) skilled white artisans. Most importantly, for the purposes of this discussion, Webster showed how these three labour markets were structured by the organisation of production and forms of managerial control in the workplace.[25]

This brief tour of the debates on class structure has come full circle. Since Edward's formulation of how to understand and operationalise class divisions is concerned with both workplace and labour market dynamics, it has a lot in common with class schemes advanced by neo-Weberian scholars. Indeed, the class schemes which one would construct on the basis of these different approaches differ largely in terms of the emphasis on the causes of the class structure rather than its form. On this basis I chose to pursue an eclectic classification scheme which incorporates both workplace and labour market dynamics. I have therefore classified all occupations listed by the Manpower Surveys according to two types of criteria. The first is concerned with labour market conditions which control access to employment in specific occupations. These conditions are, effectively, the level of education, training and experience which is required for particular occupations as well as racially restrictive legislation which prevented the employment of Africans in specific jobs. The second type of criteria are those concerned with workplace dynamics. These include differences between managers and non-managers as well as between different levels of management. They also consider the divisions which are caused by the formation, growth and decline of positions within the division of labour. The first type of criterion is therefore closer to the criteria used in a neo-Weberian model of class structure rather than a neo-Marxist one. This is because neo-Weberian models are concerned to incorporate the dynamics of market forces which structure the individual's access to different types of work. The second type of criterion is seldom discussed under the rubric of class theory, however. Instead, the most useful contributions on the social dynamics which change the division of labour are usually termed 'labour process' studies and are closer to neo-Marxist concerns.

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24 Edwards, R., *Contested Terrain: The transformation of the workplace in the twentieth century* (Basic Books, New York, 1979), Chapters 9 and 10.

25 Webster, *Cast in a Racial Mould*, pp.195-206.

3. SOUTH AFRICAN EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS

Thus far I have been concerned to identify the conceptual problems of measuring African advancement. As I mentioned earlier, however, conceptual problems in the definition of occupational groups is not the only obstacle to the analysis of African advancement. The limitations of the occupational groups reported in official publications also pose severe limitations for this sort of study. The official convention, until recently, classified occupations into only eight broad groups. To disaggregate these occupational categories into smaller units requires the complete re-analysis of the original data sets. This is a time-consuming and expensive exercise which involves specialist programming skills and is therefore not one that can be readily undertaken by most sociologists. However, as a researcher in the Human Sciences Research Council I have had access to the facilities and the specialist assistance to undertake this task. Specifically, these were access to the Manpower Survey data tapes, the mainframe computer and the specialist programming skills which were provided by the computer centre. The aim of my analysis of the Manpower Survey data was to classify the 600-odd occupations into categories which would sensitively reflect the changes brought about by the dynamics of economic growth and Apartheid labour policies. This technique therefore provided quantitative results which allowed me to identify the detailed pattern of African advancement which would provide the basis for an explanation of these trends.

Although the Manpower Surveys are the only source of quantitative information which provides occupational details of employment since the mid-1960s, their coverage is not comprehensive. Specifically, the sample does not include the agricultural sector nor does it include domestic servants employed by individual households. A further limitation is that companies and Government bureaucracies within the boundaries of the so-called 'independent' homelands were excluded from the survey: Bophuthatswana and Transkei were excluded from 1979 and Venda and the Ciskei were excluded, respectively, from 1981 and 1983.[26]

Apart from these weaknesses, however, the Manpower Surveys are the most suitable source for studying long-term changes in the occupational and racial division of labour. Quite uniquely, these surveys record employment by race and sex for some 600

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26 *Summary of the Results of Manpower Survey No.13, 27th April 1979: All industries and occupations* (Department of Manpower, Pretoria, 1980), p.1; *Summary of the Results of Manpower Survey No.14, 24th April 1981: All industries and occupations* (Department of Manpower, Pretoria, 1982), p.1; *Summary of the Results of Manpower Survey No.15, 29th April 1983: All industries and occupations* (Department of Manpower, Pretoria, 1984), p.1.

occupations. Furthermore, they are the only source for this complete period which distinguishes the employment of artisans and apprentices from other manual occupations. Another important feature of the surveys is that they are conducted bi-ennially, which allows for a precise periodisation of changes in the occupational and racial division of labour. The survey sample is based on official lists of companies, namely those of the Compensation Fund and the Unemployment Commissioner. The Manpower Surveys were conducted by the Department of Manpower from 1965 to 1985. From 1987, the Surveys were conducted by the Central Statistical Service. When the surveys were managed by the Department of Manpower, the sample of companies was 250,000. After the Central Statistical Service took over, the sample was rationalised in 1989 to 12,800 companies. Since the questionnaire is sent to company managers, the realisation rate of the sample is very high and usually approaches 90 per cent.[27] As far as the reliability of the Manpower Surveys are concerned, the results clearly show some movement in employment levels which must reflect survey errors rather than real changes in employment.[28] However, these fluctuations are only marked in the most recent survey results and therefore do not vitiate the long-term trends which are clearly evident.

The published reports of the Manpower Surveys provide useful aggregations of greater occupational detail than Population Census reports of the same period by distinguishing between artisans, semi-skilled operatives and unskilled (heavy) manual labourers. However, clerical and sales workers of all kinds are grouped together as are many non-manual and supervisory jobs in the service and transport sectors. In addition, managers, professionals, semi-professionals and technicians are also grouped together. In order to improve on this classification system, I allocated each occupation to one of the following categories:

a) Top Management
b) Middle Management
c) Supervisors and Foremen
d) Professionals
e) Semi-Professionals
f) Routine White-Collar Workers
g) Routine Security Workers
h) Menial Service Workers
i) Artisans and Apprentices
j) Machine Operatives and Semi-skilled Workers
k) Unskilled Manual Labourers

Through this classification I aimed to provide a breakdown of employment by occupation which would not be so complex that it would be difficult to interpret, but

27 This information is based on an interview conducted by Doug Hindson and myself with Mrs. Brelage at the Department of Manpower and Mrs. de Jager at the Central Statistical Service, Pretoria.

28 Roukens de Lange, A., *Manpower Supply and Demand in South Africa: A study of trends and interactions with the economy* (Institute for Futures Research, University of Stellenbosch, 1992), p.23.

would nonetheless distinguish between occupations which are affected in different ways by changes in the demand and supply of labour. It is worth discussing the rationale for this system of classification because such a discussion provides important background information on the composition of each of these categories.

a) Managers, Professionals and Semi-Professionals

Most scholars who have analysed South African employment statistics prefer to group Managers, Professionals and Semi-Professionals into a single occupational category.[29] This is partly because this is the form in which the Manpower Survey and Population Census data are published. However, there are important reasons why these occupations should be distinguished from one another. In the first place, there are substantial differences in the roles that these occupations play in the division of labour and also in the salaries that they attract. Many Semi-Professionals are teachers, nurses or technicians. Compared to Managerial and Professional occupations, these jobs are poorly paid and offer limited prospects of upward occupational mobility. Managerial jobs are also distinguished by their role of leadership and command: a role which, more than any other occupation, is influenced by the racial hierarchy of South African society at large. In the second place, these occupations are also distinguished by the kinds of credentials required for entry. In contrast to Professional jobs which require at least one university degree, most Semi-Professional jobs require only a diploma from teaching, nursing or technical colleges. This distinction between Professionals and Semi-Professionals is not so much one of the quality or type of training but of access to these different tertiary institutions. Not only are entrance requirements to colleges lower than those of universities, but finance to study at colleges is also more readily available. Similarly, unlike Professional and Semi-Professional jobs, many Middle Management jobs do not require tertiary certification.

This system of classification also distinguishes between front-line management, middle management and top management. The main reason for distinguishing these occupations is that they entail substantially different levels of education, skill and authority. Consequently, the racial composition of these different classes of management are substantially different.

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29 *Report of the National Manpower Commission on High-level Manpower in South Africa*, pp.5,7,13-18; Roukens de Lange, *Employment in South Africa*, p.33; Wolpe, 'The Changing Class Structure of South Africa', p.153.

b) Routine White-Collar and Security Workers

White-Collar occupations of a routine character are usually classified within a broader category which includes all non-Managerial and non-Professional occupations in the sales, commercial and financial sectors. The weakness of this classification is that a number of certificated employees, such as stockbrokers, estate agents and insurance salespersons are not distinguished from ordinary clerical workers, cashiers, shop assistants and switchboard operators. There are many reasons for distinguishing the former group from the latter, not least of which are differences in earnings. However, the criteria which I have applied to make this distinction is whether or not the occupation requires post-matric certification. It is commonly the case that many high-level sales jobs require in-house training and certification. In addition, such training and certification is sometimes controlled by 'professional' associations rather than by state-run tertiary educational institutions.[30] All routine white-collar jobs in my classification are therefore jobs which require a Standard 8 or matric certificate. Other commercial or sales occupations which require post-matric certification are grouped with other Semi-Professionals. Finally, I have chosen to distinguish routine security and protection workers from semi-professional and white-collar workers. These occupations include non-managerial occupations in the police and defence forces and in fire and rescue departments.

c) Artisans, Semi-Skilled Operatives and Unskilled Labourers

One of the important advantages of using the data supplied by the Manpower Surveys is that it distinguishes between employment in the skilled trades, in machine operative work and in unskilled jobs.[31] The importance of these distinctions to an analysis of the changing racial and occupational division of labour cannot be underestimated. As individual employers have sought to increase their productivity by investing in more capital-intensive methods of production, so the demand for labour has changed. The pre-capitalist labour process which was based on a division of labour between skilled

30 For example, the Training Institute of Personnel Consultants which offers a one year diploma. *My Career/My Loopbaan 1991* (Department of Manpower, Pretoria, 1991), p.757.

31 As I will use them here, the terms 'skilled', 'semi-skilled' and 'unskilled' do not refer to the ability or skill of workers but to the kinds of work that they do. Even 'unskilled' workers obviously exercise a variety of skills in their work. My choice of these terms is constrained by convention which uses them to refer to particular places in a division of labour: Webster, E. and Leger, J., 'Reconceptualising Skill Formation in South Africa', *Perspectives in Education* 13(2), 1992, p.54.

artisans and unskilled manual labourers has been transformed into one which is today based on a division of labour dominated by semi-skilled machine operatives. This transformation lies at the heart of an understanding of the relationship between racial and class relationships in the manufacturing, construction and mining sectors in South Africa. Curiously, with only some exceptions, this important division between machine operative and unskilled heavy manual labour has been overlooked by statisticians and economists. Where the distinction between machine operative and unskilled manual employment has been made, unskilled manual labourers are grouped with unskilled service sector workers.[32] The error in this categorisation is that the employment of cleaners and servants in the service sector is conflated with the employment of manual labourers in the mining, manufacturing and construction industries. Clearly, trends in the employment of these two types of unskilled labour are governed by quite different processes. For this reason I have created a separate category of Menial Service workers to distinguish them from Unskilled Labourers.

4. THE EXTENT OF AFRICAN ADVANCEMENT

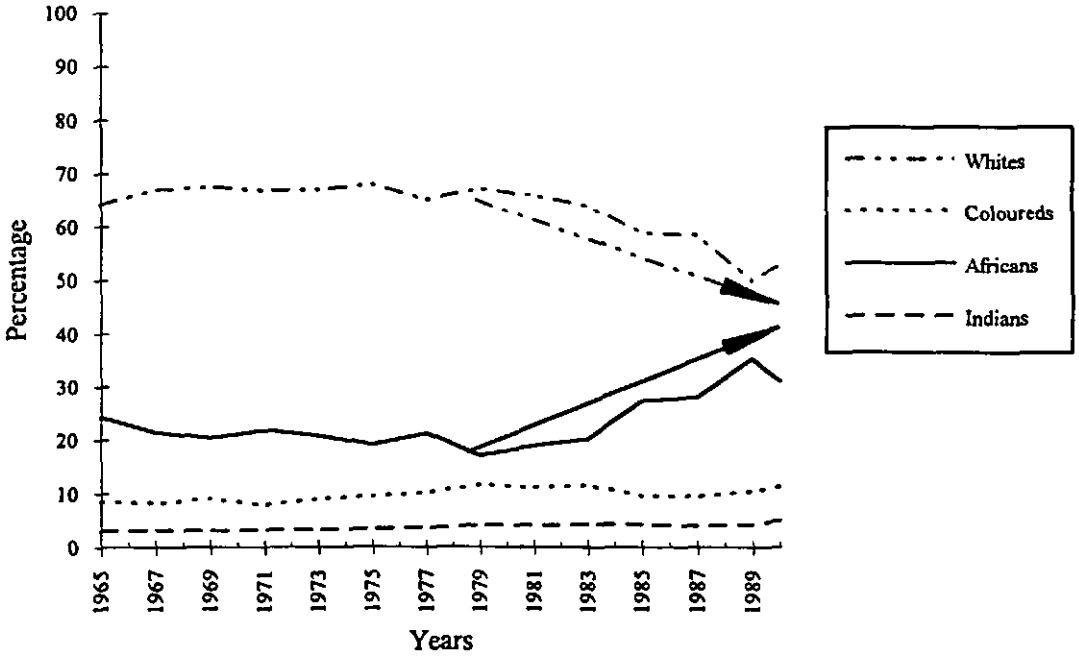
The application of this occupational classification to the results of the Manpower Surveys provides the following contribution to the debate on African advancement during the Apartheid period. First, by distinguishing semi-professional occupations from the more general category of professional, technical and related employment, a more qualified estimate of African advancement into the ranks of the professionals is possible. Second, by distinguishing routine white-collar wage earners from menial, professional and other non-manual wage earners in the financial, commercial and service sectors, this analysis provides a reliable estimate of the extent of African advancement into these occupations. Third, by isolating skilled artisans/apprentices and semi-skilled machine operatives from other occupations which are loosely defined as 'skilled' and 'semi-skilled', this analysis provides a basis for understanding the forces which retarded the advancement of Africans into the skilled trades.

32 Roukens de Lange, A. and van Eeghen, P., *Employment in South Africa: Evaluation and trend analysis* (Institute for Futures Research, Bellville, 1984), p.33.

a) Managerial, Professional and Semi-Professional Employment

By drawing a distinction between professional and semi-professional occupations, this analysis shows just how uneven the advancement of Africans into these occupations has been. The almost insignificant extent of African advancement into managerial and professional occupations (at a mere 3 and 11 per cent, respectively, in 1990) contrasts with the extensive advancement of Africans into semi-professional occupations. The African proportion of semi-professional employment grew from 24 per cent in 1965 to 41 per cent, a level that was only 4 per cent less than the proportion of white semi-professionals (Figure 1). These results therefore indicate the importance of distinguishing between professional and semi-professional occupations in order to understand the significance and the causes of African advancement. On the face of it, Wolpe's early finding that 28 per cent of 'Professional, Technical and Related' wage earners were African by 1970, does appear unlikely. Once the pattern of African employment in the professions is revealed, this becomes much easier to both interpret and understand.

Figure 1: Semi-Professional Employment by Race, 1965-1990
(Percentage Distributions)



→ Trends with estimates for employment in Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei included.

Source: My own analysis of the Manpower Survey data tapes.

A detailed examination of the 1990 Manpower Survey results for semi-professional employment shows that, as a proportion of total employment in each occupation, high proportions of Africans are found only in the occupations of 'Nurse' (43 per cent), 'Matron' (23 per cent), 'Schoolteacher' (54 per cent), 'School Principal/Inspector' (62 per cent), 'Priest' (29 per cent) and 'Technician's Assistant' (20 per cent). By contrast, African employment in the occupations of 'Pharmacist', 'Technician', 'Technologist', 'Computer Programmer' and 'Unregistered Accountant' does not exceed 4 per cent of all employment in these occupations (Table 2). The relatively large proportion of Africans who are employed in semi-professional occupations is therefore mainly a function of the high numbers of African schoolteachers and nurses. So, this finding that semi-professional Africans are concentrated in racially segregated public sector jobs goes some way towards explaining why such extensive African advancement into these occupations was promoted during the Apartheid period.

At first glance, this pattern of employment distribution, in which Africans are restricted to only a limited number of occupations, does seem to contradict the general finding that there has been extensive African advancement into semi-professional employment as a whole. The reason for this apparent contradiction is that a high proportion of semi-professionals of all races is employed as school teachers, technicians or nurses. In 1990, school teachers, principals and inspectors made up 36 per cent of all semi-professional employment.[33] Technicians made up 17 per cent and nurses made up 14 per cent. Altogether, these three occupations therefore account for just over two thirds (67 per cent) of all semi-professional employment.

In addition to inequalities in the racial division of labour within semi-professional employment revealed by the Manpower Survey data, there is also significant inequality between black and white school-teachers. Apart from the fact that it was state policy until the late 1970s to pay African, coloured and Indian school-teachers less than white school-teachers, it is also true that white teachers on average hold higher educational qualifications than teachers of other races and, accordingly, receive higher salaries. By 1982 only 3 per cent of all white school-teachers did not hold at least a post-matric teaching diploma. In contrast 85 per cent of all African school-teachers did not hold

33 This proportion only increases to 37 per cent of all semi-professional employment if an estimate of employment in the 'National States' of Transkei, Bophuthatswana Venda and Ciskei is included.

such a qualification.[34] Although the educational profile of African school-teachers has improved substantially since then, by the late 1980s 42 per cent still did not hold a post-matric teaching diploma or degree. Instead, these less qualified teachers have usually completed only standard 8 and a short teaching diploma or, alternatively, have completed matric but have not completed a teaching diploma.[35]

Table 2: Racial & Sexual Division of Labour Across Semi-Professional Occupations, 1990 (Percentage Distribution)

Occupation	Whites		Coloureds		Indians		Africans		Unspecified	Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	Race/Sex	
Pharmacist	53	38	1	0	4	2	1	0	0	100
Technicians	36	4	2	0	54	0	2	0	1	100
Technologists	82	8	3	0	3	1	2	1	0	100
Computer Programmer & Allied	52	30	4	2	6	1	3	1	2	100
Head Nurse/Matron	5	64	1	4	0	1	3	22	1	100
Nurse	1	37	0	13	0	4	3	40	0	100
Accountant (not registered)	64	22	2	1	4	1	4	0	1	100
Journalist/Editors/Writers	39	47	2	1	1	0	7	1	0	100
Physiotherapist/Occupational & Speech Therapist/Radiographer	7	59	0	6	1	3	8	15	0	100
Artists & Musicians	39	37	5	2	3	1	10	1	1	100
Insurance Agent/Estate Agent/ Auctioneer	40	31	8	2	3	1	13	3	0	100
Health Inspector	59	9	5	1	4	0	15	3	4	100
Pharmacist's Assistant	15	46	2	3	4	9	16	4	0	100
Technician's Assistants	37	27	8	3	4	1	19	1	0	100
School Principal/Inspector	15	7	11	2	3	0	33	29	0	100
Schoolteacher	8	18	5	10	3	3	21	33	0	100
Priest	59	5	6	0	1	0	28	1	0	100

Source: *Manpower Survey 1990: Occupational Information, Report No. 02-01-01* (Central Statistical Service, Pretoria, 1991).

34 This figure excludes employment in the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei: *Survey of Race Relations in South Africa: 1982* (South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1983), p.466.

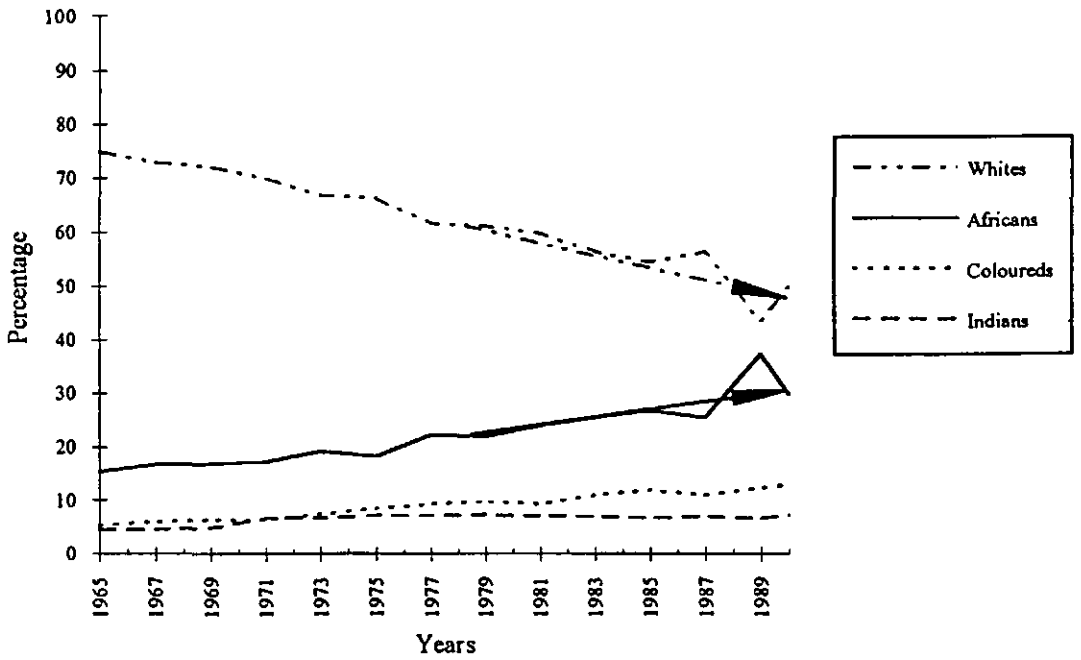
35 These estimates are based on 1988 data published in: *Race Relations Survey: 1988/89* (South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1989), pp.839-841. Figures for Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei pertaining to 1991 were supplied by the Institute for Education Planning, University of the Orange Free State.

b) Routine White-Collar Employment

This analysis of the Manpower Survey data suggests that the African proportion of routine white-collar employment doubled between 1965 and 1990, rising from 15 per cent to 31 per cent (Figure 2). In absolute terms, the numbers of African wage earners in routine white-collar jobs rose from 89,425 in 1965 to about 300,906 in 1990. The significance of these results is that they indicate the extent to which Wolpe's category of 'Service, Sport and Recreation' comprises mostly manual workers without any secondary education. Using these results from the Manpower Surveys, but following Wolpe's class criterion, I arrived at an estimate of 211,282 for the African 'new middle class' in 1971, an estimate that is only one sixth of Wolpe's estimate of 1,315,800 for 1970.[36] In comparison with Davies' estimates, it is interesting to note that my results reveal a significantly larger number of Africans employed in 'new petty bourgeois' occupations. Whereas Davies' proposed a figure of 195,366 for 1974, my results put the figure at 238,285. I suggest that the reason for this difference is that there is fairly substantial employment of Africans in routine white-collar jobs in the service sector which fall outside the definition of clerical and sales work. This is true despite the fact that my category of routine white-collar occupations excludes all rank-and-file military staff, prison warders, police officers, fire-fighters and security guards. In 1990, the African share of employment in these 'routine security' occupations was about 50 per cent, a proportion which had changed little since 1965.

36 To calculate this figure I used the same criterion as Wolpe. In effect, I added up all employment in the occupational categories of 'Managers', 'Professionals', 'Semi-Professionals', 'Routine White-Collar Workers' and 'Supervisors'.

Figure 2: Routine White-Collar Employment by Race, 1965-1990
(Percentage Distributions)



→ Trends with estimates for employment in Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei included.

In contrast to racial employment patterns within the semi-professional and artisanal classes, employment within the routine white-collar category reveals a significantly less polarised racial division of labour. Africans form a fairly substantial proportion of a range of the most common routine white-collar jobs in shops, offices and transport establishments. For example, Africans made up 42 per cent of all 'Shop & Counter Assistants', 34 per cent of all 'Office Machine Operators', 27 per cent of all 'Postal Sorters and Deliverers', 27 per cent of all 'Bus & Train Conductors', 26 per cent of all 'Cashiers' and 25 per cent of all 'General Clerks' (Table 3). The occupations which are still dominated by white employment are front-of-house jobs such as 'Secretary/Typist/Receptionist' and the more skilled jobs of 'Sales Representative' and 'Data Typist/Computer Operator'. The only occupation which is notably less skilled and characterised by predominantly African employment is that of 'Messenger'.

Table 3: Racial & Sexual Division of Labour Across Routine White-Collar Occupations, 1990 (Percentage Distribution)

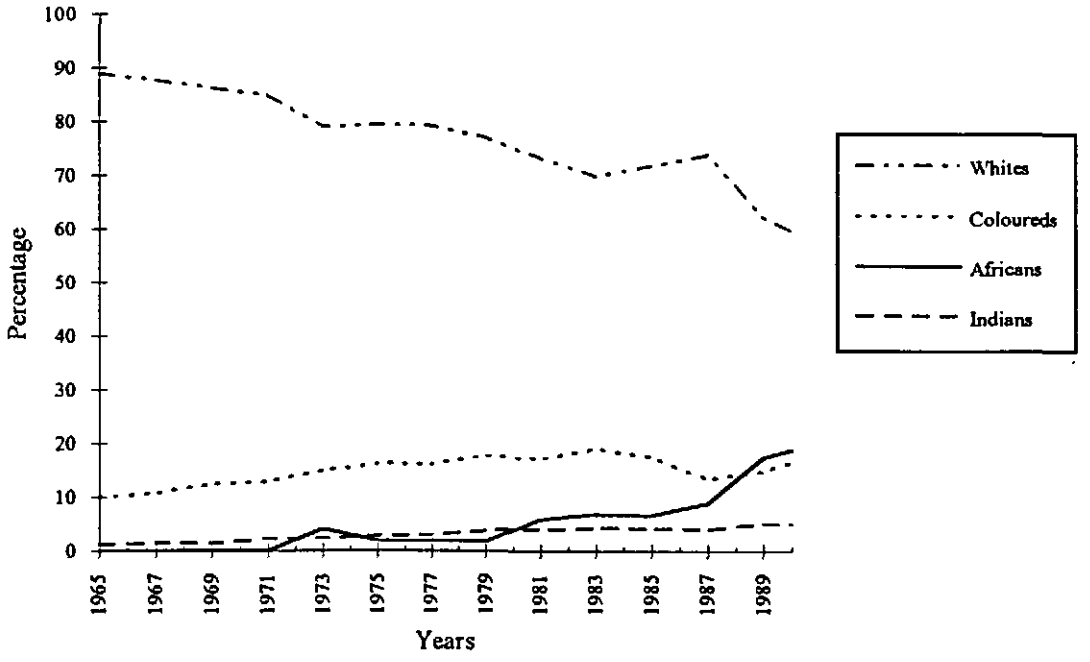
Occupation	Whites M	Whites F	Coloureds M	Coloureds F	Indians M	Indians F	Africans M	Africans F	Unspecified Race/Sex	Total
Secretary/Typist/Receptionist	2	79	1	7	1	4	1	4	1	100
Bookkeeper & Financial Clerk	11	59	3	8	4	5	5	3	1	100
Cashier	7	40	2	6	3	6	7	19	2	100
Data Typist/Computer Operator	15	43	7	10	8	5	7	6	0.2	100
Sales Representative/Agent	50	26	5	2	5	1	7	4	1	100
Shop & Counter Assistant	7	20	5	14	5	6	14	28	0.1	100
General Clerk	14	37	6	7	5	3	18	7	3	100
Office Machine Operators	7	36	10	7	3	2	26	8	1	100
Postal Sorter & Deliverer	27	22	17	0.3	7	0.0	26	1	0.0	100
Bus & Train Conductor	56	9	6	0.1	2	0.0	27	0.0	0.0	100
Messenger	4	1	12	4	1	0.1	61	15	1	100

Source: *Manpower Survey 1990: Occupational Information, Report No. 02-01-01* (Central Statistical Service, Pretoria, 1991).

c) Supervisors, Artisans, Semi-Skilled Operatives and Unskilled Labourers

Until the 1980s, employment in the skilled trades and front-line supervisory jobs was almost exclusively white. The only exception to the pattern is that Coloured men were well-represented in certain trades. After the Wiehahn reforms in 1979, however, the proportion of African artisans rose from a mere 2 per cent to 19 per cent (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Artisanal Employment by Race, 1965-1990 (Percentage Distributions)



Source: My own analysis of the Manpower Survey data tapes.

By limiting the definition of 'skilled' work to the skilled trades only, this analysis results in a much smaller proportion of Africans employed in skilled working class jobs. Whereas Simkins and Hindson suggested that about 23 per cent of skilled workers were African in 1977, my results show a much smaller proportion of only 2 per cent.[37] [include in here some discussion of Glass's definition of skilled] Isolating artisans and apprentices from other occupations which are relatively skilled (such as routine security jobs), but which are not subject to the same production and labour market dynamics, has the desired effect of identifying the impact on the racial division of labour of both the racially-exclusive strategies of artisan unions and the restructuring of production in the secondary and mining sectors. It is striking that, in comparison with routine white-collar jobs which require similar levels of secondary education, the extent of African advancement into the skilled trades was so restricted until the 1980s. Even today, the racial division of labour within the skilled trades is still very unequal, a pattern that is not reproduced in routine white-collar employment. By 1990, high proportions of African artisans were employed only in the Jewellers & Goldsmiths', 'Furniture' and 'Building' trades, where they contributed 43, 38 and 28 per cent, respectively, to all employment. The fact that there is a significantly higher proportion of African apprentices than artisans across all trades means that the proportion of

37 Simkins, C. and Hindson, D., 'The Division of Labour in South Africa', p.9.

African artisans in all these trades is growing at a substantial rate. However, even the distribution of African apprenticeships reflects the pattern of limited African participation in the more technologically advanced trades of 'Electrical & Electronic', 'Metal & Engineering', 'Motor Vehicle' and 'Printing'. In these trades, the proportion of African artisans was only 6, 9 and 11 per cent, respectively, in 1990 (Table 4). In terms of the overall numbers of African artisans, with the exception of the building trades, Africans have made the most advances in trades which employ only a small proportion of the total workforce. In fact, employment in the 'Electrical & Electronic', 'Metal & Engineering' and 'Motor Vehicle' trades accounted for 68 per cent of all artisanal employment in 1990. Furthermore, even within these broad trade categories, Africans are concentrated in the trades which have experienced the most dilution due to mechanisation, such as the welding trade which falls within the broader category of 'Metal & Engineering' trades.[38]

38 Lundall, P. and Kimmie, Z., 'Apprentice Training and Artisan Employment: Changing numbers but maintaining 'job reservation'', *South African Labour Bulletin* 16(6), 1992, p.44.

Table 4: Racial Division of Labour Across the Skilled Trades, 1990 (Percentage Distribution)

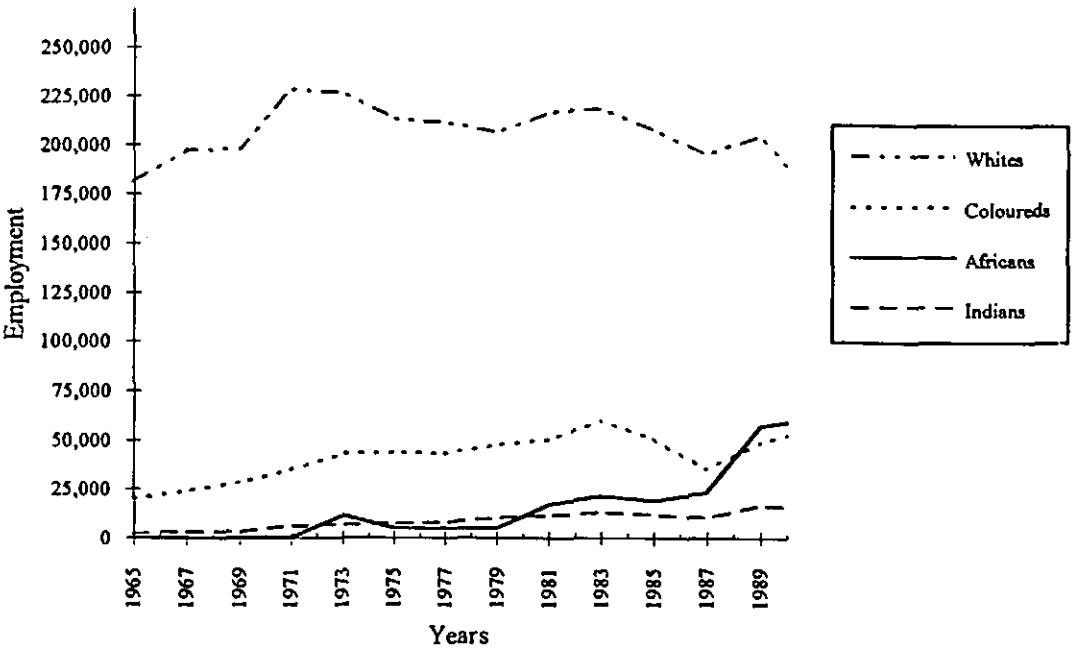
Industrial Sector		Whites	Coloureds	Indians	Africans	Race not Specified	All Races	Vacancy Rate
Other	Artisans	85	11	1	3	0	100	5
	Apprentices	34	49	2	14	0	100	11
Electrical & Electronic	Artisans	82	7	4	6	1	100	5
	Apprentices	76	7	3	12	2	100	3
Metal & Engineering	Artisans	79	9	3	9	1	100	4
	Apprentices	71	9	5	15	1	100	3
Motor Vehicle	Artisans	72	9	5	11	3	100	4
	Apprentices	71	8	7	14	0	100	3
Printing	Artisans	48	21	14	17	0	100	1
	Apprentices	59	24	5	12	0	100	2
Building	Artisans	28	38	6	28	0	100	3
	Apprentices	7	31	1	61	0	100	0
Furniture	Artisans	9	47	6	38	0	100	1
	Apprentices	12	30	12	46	0	100	0
Jewelers & Goldsmiths	Artisans	28	15	14	43	0	100	6
	Apprentices	4	5	1	90	0	100	0

Source: *Manpower Survey 1990: Occupational Information, Report No. 02-01-01* (Central Statistical Service, Pretoria, 1991).

These results therefore raise the question of why African advancement into the skilled trades has been so limited. I have advanced evidence elsewhere to argue that the lack of African advancement into the skilled trades was probably due to the way that white unions, employers and the state resolved the problem of the shortage of white artisans.[39] Instead of apprenticing African workers, employers struck a compromise with white unions and the state which allowed them to mechanise and fragment the skilled trades. In this way, Africans were increasingly employed in semi-skilled, machine operative work and the demand for artisan labour was minimised. The expansion of employment in the mining, manufacturing and construction sectors was therefore achieved largely through the expansion of African employment in semi-skilled machine operative jobs and not through the expansion of skilled employment. In the service sector, such a restructuring of the occupational and racial division of

39 Crankshaw, O., 'Race, Class and the Changing Division of Labour Under Apartheid', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, Braamfontein, 1995.

Figure 7: Artisanal Employment by Race, 1965-1990



Source: My own analysis of the Manpower Survey data tapes.

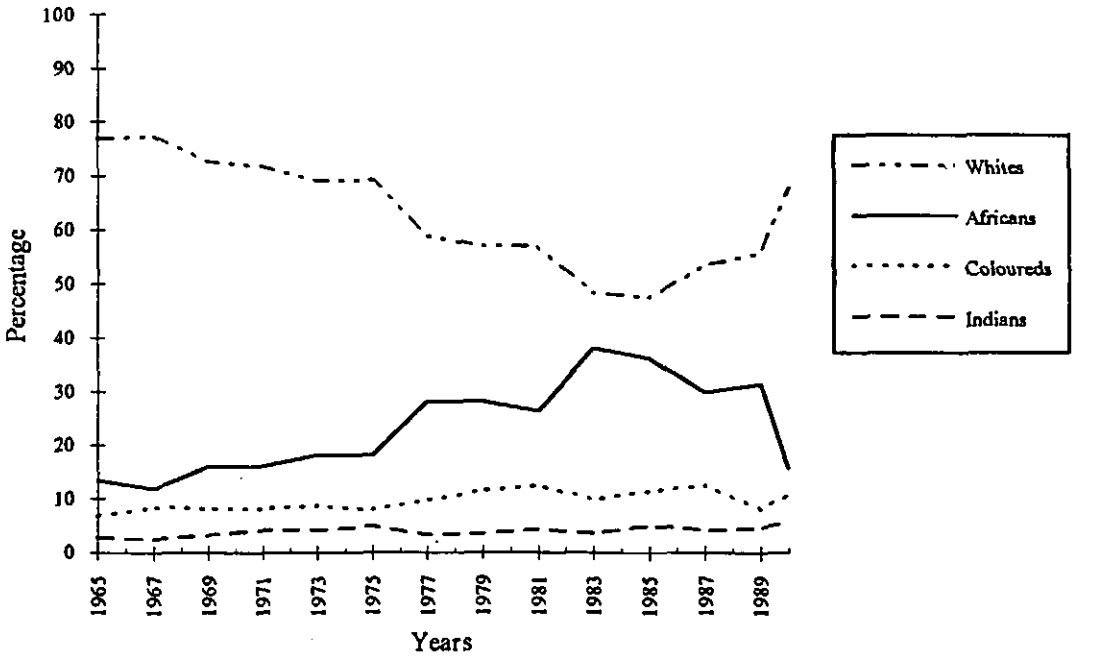
There are also indications of such trends in the employment of supervisors and routine security work, but the results are inconclusive. In the case of supervisors, this is because the data since 1987 are self-evidently wrong.[41] In the case of routine security employment the trends are only evident from 1983 to 1987. Since 1987, the figures for white employment are probably also wrong. The exceptions to this pattern of 'blackening from below' are employment trends in semi-professional, professional and managerial employment in which increased African employment has been associated with increases in white employment (Figures 8, 9 and 10).

41 This occupational category comprises relatively few occupations with the result that changes in occupational definitions or even survey errors result in large fluctuations. Moreover, a new sample was drawn by the Central Statistical Service when they took over the Manpower Survey from the Department of Manpower in 1987. This is probably the cause of the discontinuities in the series.

labour was simply not possible and the shortage of whites meant that employers hired black workers in a wide range of routine white-collar jobs.

An important consequence of the expansion of African semi-skilled employment is that, as the numbers of white semi-skilled operatives fell, so the state and white unions permitted employers to Africanise front-line supervision work. Consequently, the proportion of African employment in the front-line management jobs of charge-hand, supervisor or foreman increased from 13 per cent in 1965 to about 30 per cent in 1989 (Figure 5).

Figure 5: Supervisory Employment by Race, 1965-1990 (Percentage Distributions)



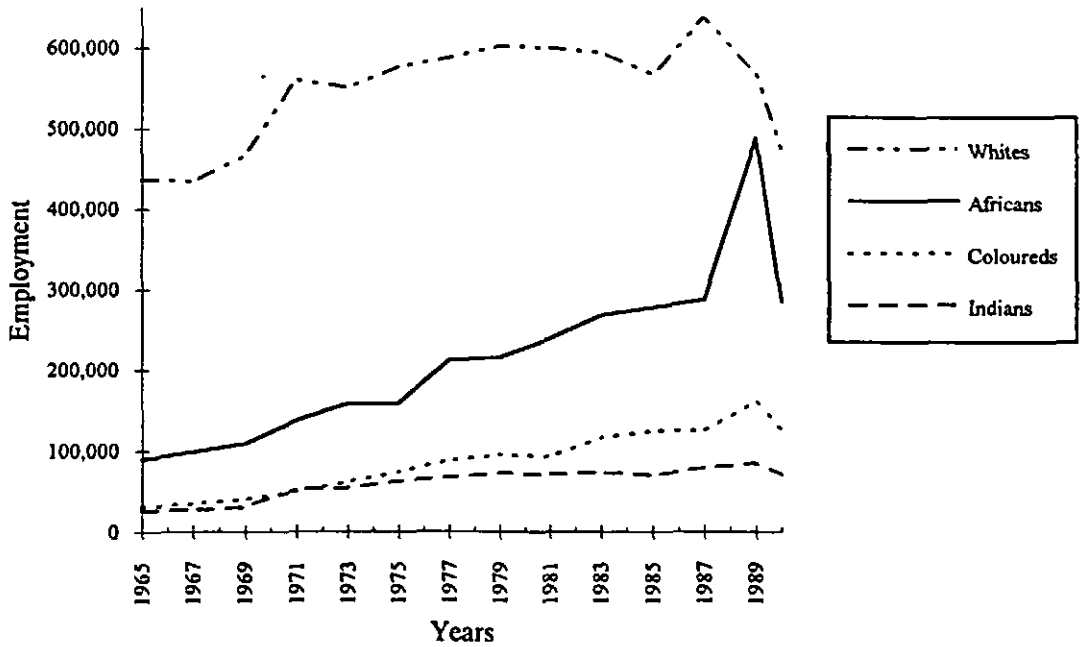
Source: My own analysis of the Manpower Survey data tapes.

5. THE 'FLOATING' COLOUR BAR

A central theme in this pattern of African advancement is that it has taken the form of a 'floating' colour bar. In other words, Africans are moving into traditionally white jobs at the bottom of the skill and income hierarchy. Furthermore, as Africans move into jobs previously occupied by whites, whites move up the occupational hierarchy into better paid and more skilled jobs. This is evident in the employment patterns of routine white-collar workers and artisans. In the case of routine white-collar employment, white employment grew from about 437,000 in 1965 to a maximum of 602,000 in

1979 (Figure 6). During this period, the proportion of African routine white-collar workers grew from 15 per cent to 22 per cent. After 1979, however, white employment began to decline and, by 1990, was down to 475,000.[40] In contrast, African employment continued to grow in both absolute and relative terms to about 301,000 in 1990. The decline of white employment in the skilled trades began much earlier. The employment of white artisans increased steadily during the 1960s reaching its zenith at 228,000 in 1971 (Figure 7). Thereafter white employment declined slowly to about 190,000 in 1990. Most of the further growth in employment of artisans, which continued until 1983, was supplied by Coloured and African labour.

Figure 6: Routine White-Collar Employment by Race, 1965-1990



Source: My own analysis of the Manpower Survey data tapes.

40 The 1987 figure of 636,670 for white employment is an outlier to the general trend and is probably wrong.

Figure 8: Semi-Professional Employment by Race, 1965-1990

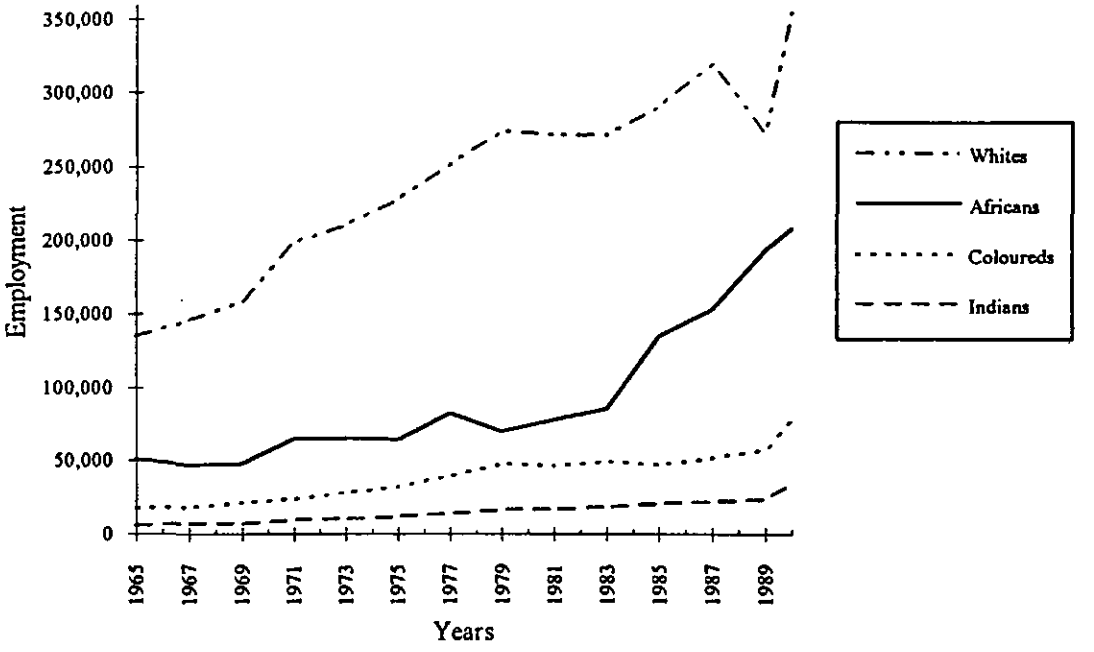
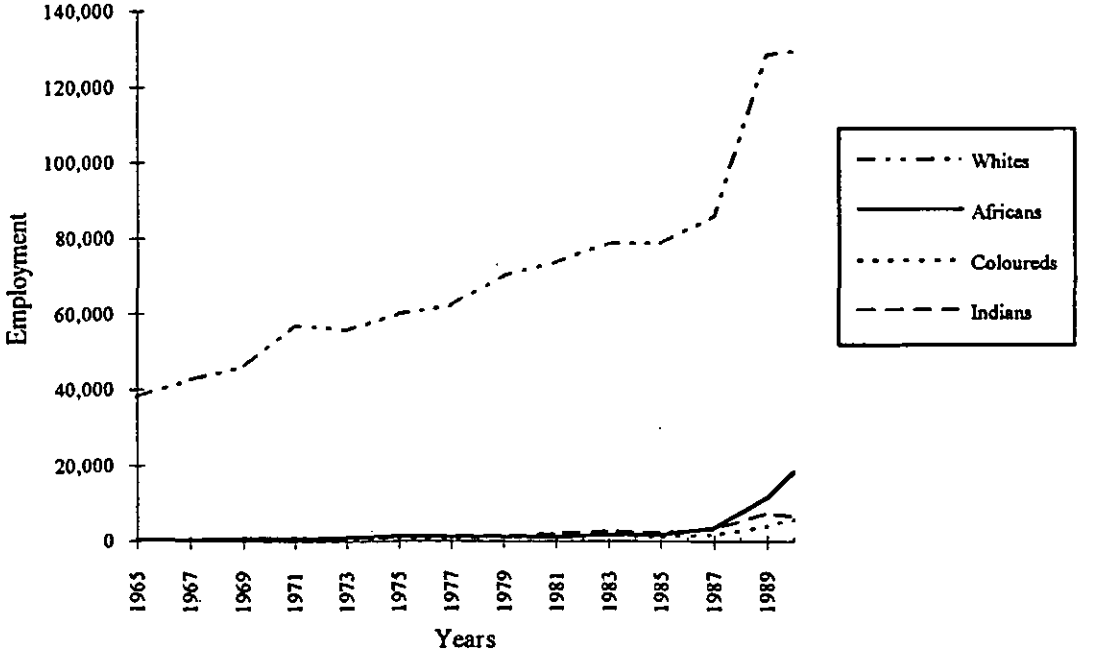
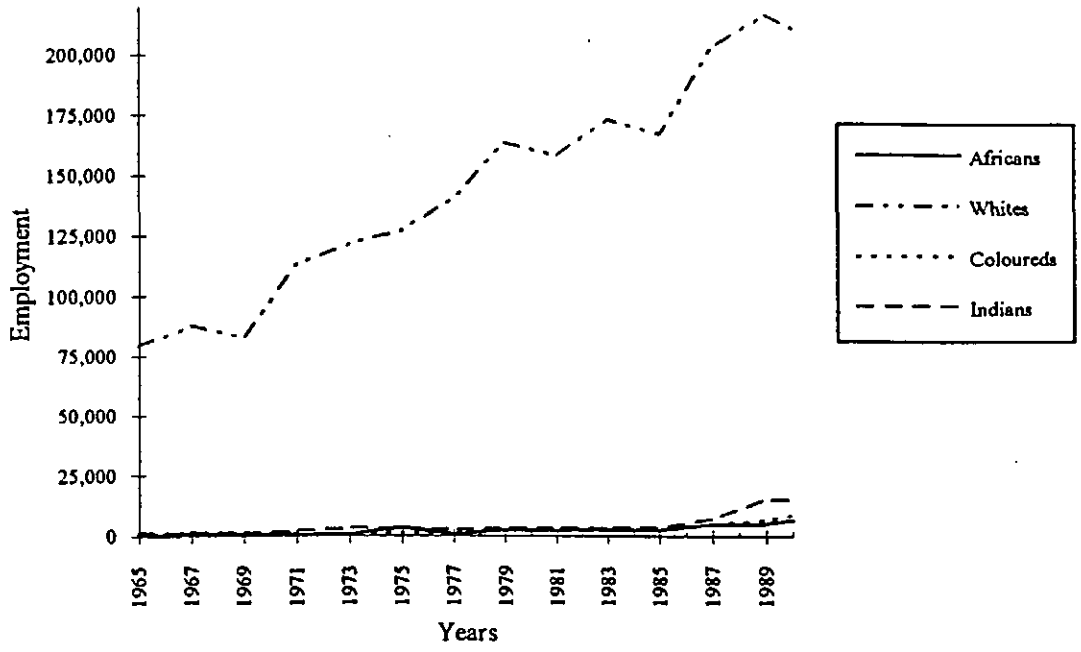


Figure 9: Professional Employment by Race, 1965-1990



Source: My own analysis of the Manpower Survey data tapes.

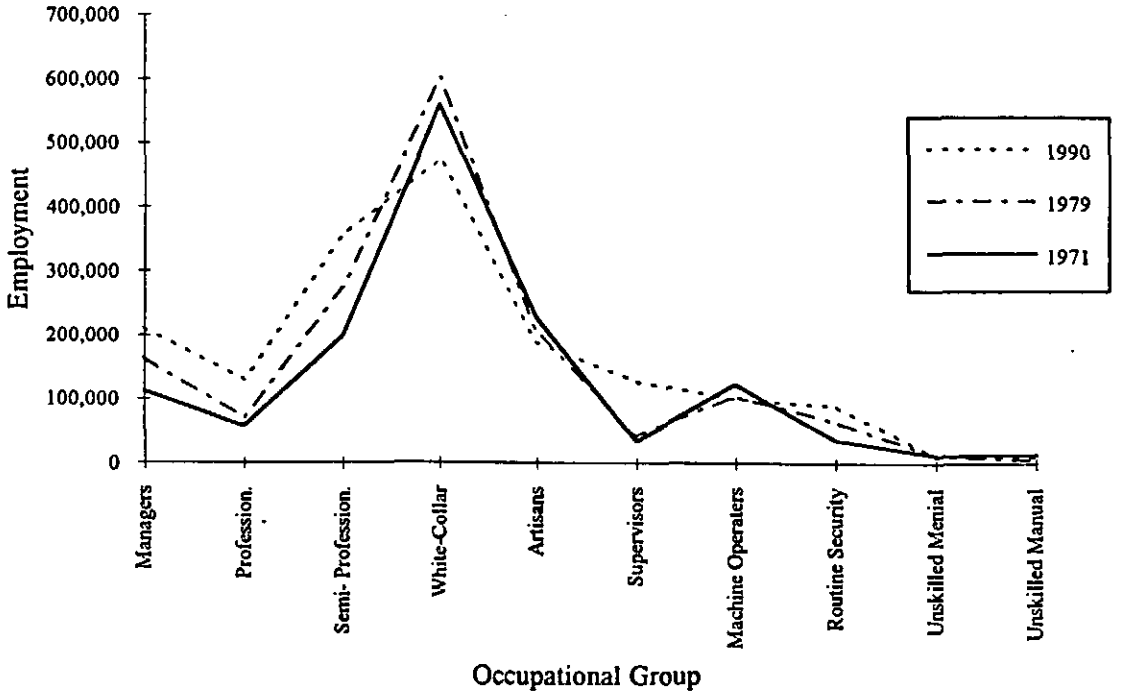
Figure 10: Managerial Employment by Race, 1965-1990



Source: My own analysis of the Manpower Survey data tapes.

These trends in absolute employment levels therefore suggest that African advancement into artisanal and white-collar employment is being accompanied by the movement of whites into more skilled and better-paid occupations. Of course, the limitation of these employment data is that they do not provide any insight into the inter- or intra-generational occupational mobility of workers. In the absence of such data, however, it is useful to examine the changes in the occupational profile of the white urban workforce. If the changing occupational profiles of whites over the years are compared, it is clear that there has been little occupational movement out of more skilled into less skilled occupations. The absolute decrease in the levels of white employment in the skilled trades since 1971 and in routine white-collar work since 1979 has not been accompanied by the growth of white employment in less skilled occupations other than that of routine security (Figure 11). It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the decline in the employment levels of white routine white-collar and artisanal workers has been a result of their upward occupational mobility, of either an inter- or intra-generational character, into managerial, professional, semi-professional and supervisory jobs.

Figure 11: Occupational Profile of the White Workforce, 1971, 1979 & 1990



Source: My own analysis of the Manpower Survey data tapes.

6. Racial Integration and Racial Equality in the Workplace

There is, unfortunately, no contemporary source of data which indicates the extent to which these national statistics represent racial integration and racial equality in the workplace itself. This relatively integrated division of labour among routine white-collar occupations was accompanied by greater workplace integration and equality than in other occupational groups. There is evidence for the late 1970s that companies which employed mostly routine white-collar workers were less racially segregated than companies which employed mostly manual workers. The extent to which routine white-collar workers were more racially integrated and enjoyed greater racial equality in the workplace is reflected by a number of characteristics. Firstly, the proportion of financial institutions and companies engaged in the distribution and service sectors which reported that they provided racially desegregated canteens, toilets, change rooms and recreation facilities was consistently higher than the proportion of companies in the manufacturing, construction and mining sectors (Table 4).

Secondly, the supervision of whites by blacks was much more likely to take place in an 'office environment' than in a factory. Of those companies which reported that they employed black supervisors to manage whites, 75 per cent reported that this

supervision took place in offices and 25 per cent reported that it took place on the factory floor.[42] These results suggest that the racial hierarchy in supervisory and routine white-collar occupations in offices is not as rigid as it is among supervisors, artisans and machine operatives who are employed in factories. This finding is therefore consistent with the results of the Manpower Survey which indicate that the degree of racial integration in routine white-collar employment is far greater than in the skilled trades.

Table 4: Proportions of Companies with Racially De-Segregated Facilities by Sector

Industrial Sector	Percentage of Companies with De-Segregated Facilities			
	Canteen	Toilets	Change Rooms	Recreation Facilities
Mining	-	-	25	-
Materials Manufacture	41	34	12	22
Construction		38	62	13
Industrial Equipment Manufacture	23	20	11	20
Consumer Goods Manufacture	45	60	27	25
Distribution & Service Industries	36	59	59	32
Financial Institutions	63	63	87	63
Other (includes Local Government)	20	60	40	-
OVERALL	36	45	33	28

Source: *Report on Asiatic, Black and Coloured Advancement 1979* (Fine Spamer Associates, Johannesburg, 1979), Section 16, pp.22-25.

Case studies of particular establishments reveal that, for the most part, there is very little racial overlap between blacks and whites in occupations of equal status or remuneration. The only area in which the extent of inter-racial integration is significant is amongst clerical workers employed in office environments. Some evidence for this comes from an in-depth study, conducted during 1985, of a number of private sector establishments in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging Complex. The study of a division of a large bank revealed extensive de-racialisation amongst routine clerical staff which comprised mostly white and coloured women (39 and 43 per cent

42 Most of these supervisors were Indian (55 per cent) and coloured (35 per cent) supervisors, whereas only 10 per cent were African, *Report on Asiatic, Black and Coloured Advancement 1979* (Fine Spamer Associates, Johannesburg, 1979), Section 9, p.4.

respectively) and African men (12 per cent).[43] Similarly, in the head office of a supermarket chain, the proportion of African, coloured and Indian routine clerical workers, respectively, was as high as 25, 11 and 10 per cent.[44] By contrast, there was almost no racial overlap in manual occupations in factory establishments. In the case of a motor vehicle manufacturer, 96 per cent of semi-skilled machine operatives were African and only 4 per cent were white. Conversely, all artisans were white.[45] A similar racial division of labour was found in the other factory case-study. In this case, only 1 semi-skilled operative out of a semi-skilled workforce of 278 was white.[46]

7. CONCLUSION

This study has examined the overall extent and pattern of African advancement in formal urban employment since the 1960s. By bringing together insights from Weberian and labour process theory to re-classify the occupational employment data provided by the Manpower Surveys, these results have settled some empirical questions concerning earlier estimates of the extent of African employment in 'middle class' occupations. Because of the limitations posed by the application of neo-Marxist theories of class determination and by the classification of occupational groups in official publications, revisionist scholars came up with markedly different estimates of the extent of African employment in 'middle class' occupations.

I have made some progress towards resolving this debate by providing an occupational classification that is sensitive to (i) the level of certification that is required for employment, (ii) the legal and institutional mechanisms through which racial discrimination was effected, and (iii) the dynamics of production which influenced the hiring practices of employers.

The overall result of this system of classification is to produce occupational groups that are much more homogeneous that those provided by earlier studies. Consequently, the results reveal greater clarity concerning both the character and causes of African advancement.

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43 Human, L., Rainey, P. and Rajah, M., *Occupational Mobility and Wage Differentiation: A qualitative study* (Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria, 1986), p.27.
44 Human *et al*, *Occupational Mobility and Wage Differentiation*, p.42.
45 Human *et al*, *Occupational Mobility and Wage Differentiation*, p.33.
46 Human *et al*, *Occupational Mobility and Wage Differentiation*, p.22.

What the results show is that African advancement into traditionally white occupations has been very uneven. This is true even for occupations which require similar levels of certification. The first important finding is that significant African advancement into the professions has been restricted to what I have termed semi-professional jobs. Specifically, these are the occupations of schoolteacher, nurse, technician and priest. Most of these occupations are public sector jobs within racially-segregated services and this clearly points to the state's role in expanding African semi-professional employment to staff the growing health and education services for urban Africans. The second important finding is that there has been substantial African advancement into routine white-collar jobs, most of which are in the private sector and are therefore not in racially segregated institutions. Consequently, the pattern of African advancement into routine white-collar jobs is more racially integrated than in other occupational groups. This pattern contrasts starkly with African advancement into the skilled trades. Not only were Africans excluded from employment in the skilled trades until the 1980s, but since then African advancement has been very uneven and is still concentrated in the least skilled and worst paid trades.

African advancement, although fairly extensive in these three occupational categories, therefore still follows the pattern of the 'floating' colour bar, whereby African advancement only takes place when whites move upwards into more skilled and better paid jobs. Employment trends in the skilled trades and routine white collar jobs reveal that white employment in these occupations has declined in absolute terms as they have been increasingly filled by Africans and other black workers. The evidence So, although the racial occupational hierarchy has been fractured as many whites are overtaken by upwardly mobile Africans, the general pattern is one in which whites have moved up the occupational hierarchy ahead of Africans.

to add somewhere

Simkins and Hindson were the first to move beyond the use of published Population Census data. Instead of relying on the broad and unwieldy occupational classification of the Population Census data, they turned to the Manpower Survey data which allowed them to construct their own occupational categories. Although the occupational categories which I